2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

of a considerable rivulet. The cords were here unloosed from my wrists; nevertheless, I was pinioned back from the shoulders, leaving my arms so far at liberty, however, that I could raise my hands to my mouth. The drove properly herded, one or two horses were shot, and the meat brought in for supper.

I may as well state, in this connection, that horseflesh is the favorite food of a Comanche Indian. They do devour great quantities of venison and buffalo meat, but these are universally considered as greatly inferior to the steaks cut from the carcass of a mustang. The woods and prairies are covered with wild fowl, and the streams abound with delicious trout and other fish, yet none of these are ever made use of as an article of diet.

A fire was now kindled, and the warriors gathered round it, the prisoners in the center. This was the first opportunity I had of seeing and speaking to my fellow captives. Martin was silent and dejected, apparently absorbed in his own reflections, and little disposed to converse. Stewart was nervous and frightened, bewailing his hard fate in tears; but Aikens maintained a cheerful spirit, advising us to keep up our courage and look the matter coolly in the face until the last. While conversing, the Indians were engaged boiling their meat, which they ate without any accompaniment whatever, save water dipped from the spring in buffalo horns; the greensward serving as their table spread, and their fingers as knives and forks. Having satisfied themselves, they now seemed to take into consideration the appetites of their captives.

In wandering menageries, the curiosity of civilized assemblages is sometimes excited to see "the animals fed in the presence of the audience." Something of this kind actuated the Comanches on this occasion. At all events, they re-

264 Breakfast was then ready, when, without more ado, each cut off a piece of meat, the size regulated by their appetites, and holding it between the fingers of one hand, with the fingers of the other scooped up the corn, filling their mouths alternately with flesh and vegetable.

727 623 An hour or two subsequently, a party of fifty, perhaps, collected together and held a council, the Big Wolf presiding. It was evident that frequent references were made to me, and that I was spoken of in connection with the watch. In the course of the consultation, Moko, the chief's favorite wife, into whose sacred keeping it had been delivered, was called. Presenting it to me, she made the usual signs, signifying, "Make it go." On this occasion I resolved to risk, for the first time, the result of a refusal. Accordingly I pointed to the heavens, uttering a rigmarole of words without sense or connection, and solemnly shook my head. If I did not impress them with the fact that such an operation, just at that time, would be attended with "the wreck of matter and the crush of worlds," it was not because of any lack of effort on my part. My success far exceeded my expectations. Instead of exhibiting any manifestations of ill humor, they quietly submitted to the disappointment, and continued their consultation.

727 Immediately after the council had adjourned, I discovered the warriors assembling outside the village at a point distant a quarter of a mile. I was somewhat curious to learn the occasion of it, but I little dreamed it was the prelude to an exhibition horrible beyond measure. At length, I was waited upon by a strong guard and escorted into their midst. On arriving, I found my fellow captives had preceded me, and at once comprehended some terrible scene would ensue. There were Aikens, Martin, and Stewart, stripped entirely naked, and bound as follows: Strong, high

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Night Encampment

While crossing one of these little prairies, we espied a 224
bear making his way to the mountain. A part of the Indian's equipage is a *lasso*, tied to his saddle girth, and in the skill and accuracy with which they throw it, they far excel the Mexicans. On this occasion it was brought into use. A couple of them galloped out, one dexterously throwing the noose over Bruin's neck and twitching him on his back, the other as dexterously throwing another over his hind legs, thus subjecting him to a most uncomfortable stretch, as they pulled in opposite directions. A scalping knife soon relieved him of his hide, and a portion of his carcass supplied our evening meal. Bear's flesh is often eaten by them, but is not regarded as equal to buffalo, beef, or venison. They are hunted considerably, however, for their oil, which [281]
is used in the preparation of various kinds of skins.

Having descended the western slope of the mountain range, we encamped that night at the extreme point of a narrow valley, which seemed to run up a long distance between the hills. Wearied with a hard day's travel, I hastened 727
to cook my own and Big Wolf's supper—for I was com- 264
pelled to act towards him in the capacity of a servant—and then lay down to rest. Though I brought his water, and cooked his food, and slept in his tent, and was in fact, his menial and slave, Big Wolf never, in a single instance, placed the horn of water to his lips or put a morsel of flesh into his mouth until I had tasted them. This, also, was the case with the two chiefs to whom I subsequently belonged. Whether it was through fear of poison, or dictated by some singular superstition, is more than I am able to determine.

Setting out again early in the morning, we traveled down ooo
the little winding valley until it opened into an extensive plain. Here we struck a narrow but very rapid stream, when

222 like wild onions, radishes, and Jerusalem artichoke were also exploited—nor was the bulb of the sego lily overlooked.

A truly favorite sweet dish for the Comanche was a mush made [262] of buffalo marrow mixed with crushed mesquite beans, which are very high in sugar content.

262 439 Dried pumpkins, pumpkin seeds, and corn were obtained in trade from the Kiowas, Wichitas, and other tribes to the east. Corn was not really used very much, although the Comanches did like to make a drink of boiled corn meal sweetened with mesquite. If they had let this concoction ferment, as did the Gila River tribes of Arizona, they could have had an alcoholic mead, but the Comanches did not know how to brew beer or ferment wines from their grapes.

[276] Tobacco was obtained in trade with the Mexicans and not grown at all.

263 Honey added flavor to the Comanche diet. So highly in favor was it that one band received the name *Penatɜkɔ* or Honey-eaters. The honey bee seems to have been abundant along the Cross Timbers of the eastern Comanchería. Honey was bagged in skin containers and could be kept indefinitely.

251 The original K-ration was pemmican, beloved of the Comanches and many other tribes of Indians. Wild berries, cherries, or plums, pounded well and partially dried in the sun, or walnuts, piñons, or pecans gave flavor to the dried meat, which was pounded thoroughly, softened over a fire, and then mixed with the pounded fruit or nuts. Tallow and marrow fat were added, and the mixture was stored either in parfleche bags (ɔyɔ:ɾ), in large intestines which probably had been no more than partially cleaned, or in paunches. Before the container was firmly tied, melted tallow was sometimes poured over the whole to make it air tight. In either container, the pemmican with proper care would keep for years. It was greatly prized by the whites, particularly when sliced and dipped in honey. They called it "Indian bread," for since the Comanches had no bread, this was the nearest substitute. Children went about eating it as American children eat candy. When other foods were available, dried meat and pemmican were saved for times of food scarcity.

● 264 It was generally believed by the whites that the Comanches had no regular times for meals, that they ate at all hours of the day or

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

night. This belief was strengthened because they prepared and set food before guests as soon as possible after their arrival, whatever the hour. Eating is a gesture of hospitality not to be postponed. "Meat is free to those who come. A man makes friends of the poor that way. They never got tired of visitors," says Slope. Nevertheless, it was customary to have a formal meal soon after arising in the morning and a much more important one in the evening. There appears to have been no regular noon meal, both children and adults helping themselves to food, if plentiful, whenever their appetites and convenience dictated. Before eating on public occasions, the chief or leader cut off a morsel and offered it to the Great Spirit by holding it first toward the sky and then burying it. Individuals did the same when eating, in lodge or elsewhere, but like our custom of offering thanks, the practice was not universal. Some interesting descriptions of Comanche meals have been left by early writers. One is that of a breakfast of the less formal type:

> Outside the tent, in front of the door, two logs lay side by side. Between them the fire was kindled. A long slice of horse flesh was attached to the end of a stick some four feet in length by which the meat was held over the fire, and when barely warmed through was brought into the tent, the handle end of the stick thrust into the ground, the long slice dangling from the other end, resembling a drooping blood red flag. Kiln-dried corn was next boiled and mashed and served in a large dish made of bark. Breakfast was then ready, when, without more ado, each cut off a piece of meat, the size regulated by the appetite, and holding it between the fingers of one hand, with the fingers of the other scooped up the corn, filling the mouth alternately with flesh and vegetable.[14]

Another account is of a formal meal where visitors were present:

> The company is seated, or squatted, rather, around on the matting that forms the beds at night, their feet gathered under them. Short boards or thick pieces of hide are placed before each one;

[14] Lee, *op. cit.*, 132–33.

3. Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

264 the meat is taken out of the kettle by the fingers of the woman who officiates as cook, and apportioned to each one, and placed before him; bread [this was after the government had set up a reservation and was providing some provisions] is apportioned out, and cups for the coffee furnished to each. The party is some time in partaking of the meal, which is enlivened by much conversation, amusing tales, and laughter, while the meat is torn to pieces by the teeth and fingers, sometimes with the assistance of a knife. . . . After a meal water is always offered to all who have partaken to rinse the mouth and wash the hands. After this the pipe may be in order but not necessarily. If it be introduced, the women withdraw, and some important subject discussed. The pipe is always circulated from one to another, from right toward the left.[15]

261 [185] Perhaps opportunism in the life of the nomadic Comanche is best reflected in his attitude toward subsistence. Seldom were efforts put forth to make provision for the future other than preserving meat or wild fruits and nuts by drying in such quantities as could be carried when the camp moved. He ate sparingly when on a raid or a hunt. Times of hunger were frequent. He could subsist on a surprisingly small amount when game was scarce, or he could demonstrate an amazingly gluttonous appetite when food was plentiful and no danger present. Besides, the food might spoil unless quickly consumed. By practicing self-denial, he developed a quality of hardihood unequaled by other peoples who later came to his country. It was because of his surprising resourcefulness while traveling on the semiarid Staked Plains that he was able to survive where the Anglo-American invader would starve or die of thirst. And when all resources were exhausted, he could go for many hours through trying circumstances without either food or water. Indeed, his self-restraint could be quite as pronounced as his gormandizing. Clinton Smith relates that on a trip across the plains, when water was not found where expected, the most rigid discipline was enforced in the interest of the weaker members of the party. Grim warriors, with blood-shot eyes and swollen tongues, staggered on, threatening with death anyone who might attempt to

[15] Battey, *op. cit.*, 322–23.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

which time she takes no food, except a little broth and some kind of vegetables; but on no account will she taste of meat of any kind until her four days are expired; after that, she bathes herself and returns to her husband.

As to cleanliness in their persons, I think them the most particular people I ever saw. They bathe at all seasons of the year. I have frequently seen them, both men and women, break the ice for this purpose; and they are punctilious not to eat without washing. I never knew one of them to rise and go abroad without washing. They are very particular in the above respect with regard to their children; they are also far from being as indifferent to the kind and preparation of their food, as one might suppose. The men eat horse-flesh when they can get nothing else; but their women, as a general thing, will not taste of it, nor will they permit it to come near their dwellings. They subsist mostly upon buffalo meat, with some other game, which they cook, in a cleanly manner, with various kinds of vegetables, some of which possess somewhat of the quality, and they have the faculty of preparing it as a good substitute for bread.

In conclusion, perhaps I ought to say, that with reference to a point, of all others of the most sacred importance to a captive female, (with gratitude to my Maker I record it.) my fears were in no part realized.

Query. – Is it not strange, indeed, that a nation

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

After Sanapia had taken the coal and covered her hands with the ashes, her mother began the transmission of supernatural power to Sanapia's mouth. Two eagle feathers, manipulated by the mother, were drawn across Sanapia's opened mouth four times; however, in the course of the fourth movement of the feathers, one of the feathers disappeared. At this occurrence Sanapia's mother told her that the eagle feather had entered her mouth and would dwell there for the rest of her life.

As with a similar phenomenon occurring in a variety of witchcraft which will be discussed in Chapter 5, Sanapia states that she does not believe that an eagle feather actually was inserted into her mouth but rather that the idea, the essence, or the Medicine which the eagle feather symbolized, was the entity which was placed in her mouth. She does not attempt to explain the disappearance of the second feather from her mother's hand except to suggest that her mother possessed certain powers which she did not transmit to Sanapia. This first phase was ended with the mother's application of red paint to Sanapia's face, forearms, and legs, from the knees to, and including, the soles of the feet.

Two tabus, or "rules" as Sanapia calls them, were attached by the mother to the powers transmitted in this first phase of the actual transmission. Sanapia was forbidden to eat any kind of fowl. Her mother warned that if she broke that rule, the feather in her throat would kill her. The second tabu forbade Sanapia to allow people to pass behind her carrying food, especially meat, while she is eating.

> That eagle, when he eats, he don't like anybody to be behind him. When its sitting on the ground, and it see anybody behind him, it twist all around and sit toward you. If he back there eating meat, he don't want any meat behind him. If some kid carry meat on a plate, it just give me chills all at once . . . you know, if they be behind me. I don't care if I don't see it, if there's meat on that plate behind me I get chills, and I know someone back there. My mother said, "If you keep it like that and try to take care of yourself, it won't make you loose your ways about it. That's going to be the rule I give you. You got to do that. Don't let anybody go behind you when you eat, especially if they carrying meat."

It is impossible to say if certain kinds of power or specific supernatural abilities to achieve a certain exclusive end were transmitted at each of the four stages of transmission. From Sanapia's discussion it can be said that each stage marked an increase in the degree of power generally. Before the beginning of the actual power transmission Sanapia was taught the ritual procedure which she would require as a doctor. The four stages of transmission acted to instill in her ever-increasing powers to successfully actualize the goals of these doctoring procedures.

An analogy can be made with the construction of an automobile. Before it is actually energized, it is equipped with everything that it will require to efficiently operate. Then, at the source of manufacture, it is carefully observed while given several rigidly controlled and graded performance tests. Supernatural power, like an untested automobile, is potentially dangerous to the operator. This appears to

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

The tabus which are attached to supernatural power are a major reason that a doctor may experience difficulty in his attempt to find a successor. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:165) mention this in their discussion of Comanche supernaturalism:

> Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that a Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of Medicine.

Sanapia, being aware of this, is planning to delete certain tabus from her Medicine way in order to make the acquisition of her powers more palatable to a twentieth-century Comanche. Of course, the absence of certain tabus also indicates the absence of the concomitant degree of power. Her successor will not be burdened with the food and eating tabus which Sanapia finds so cumbersome. He will also not have to be bothered with the tabu forbidding the making of direct requests. These deletions are major concessions for Sanapia, but ones which she feels are necessary if her tradition is to continue.

Sanapia's mother modified her Medicine way before transmitting it to Sanapia for much the same reasons that Sanapia is now being compelled to consider. An element which occurred in her mother's modifications, though not in Sanapia's, was the deletion of certain powers because of their lack of contemporary function. Her mother possessed many medicines and songs which were associated with the role of midwife. She told Sanapia that the delivering of infants would be taken over by white doctors in the future and, therefore, there was no reason for Sanapia to learn the skill or to be compelled to observe the tabus associated with it. To both Sanapia and her mother the primary function of an eagle doctor is his ability to cure ghost sickness[2]. The deletions in tabus and power made by Sanapia and her mother have not infringed on this specific power.

Sanapia believes that her doctoring tradition will ultimately die as the Comanches become more acculturated. She states that *puhakuts* will cease to exist when the Comanches have no more need for them. Sanapia's sensitivity, concern with function, and general pragmatic instincts make her a very sensitive barometer of the manner in which culture change is viewed and handled by a traditionally oriented Comanche. Since her opinion of herself is bound by supernatural sanctions, and not merely by elusive value structure, her reaction to culture change is much more dramatic.

Attitudes about Sanapia

The ways in which Comanches of both northern and southern affiliation and members of neighboring tribes react to Sanapia as a personality are many and

[2] "Ghost sickness," "twisted face," and "crooked mouth" are names which the Comanches, as well as other southern Plains tribes, give to a condition of facial hemiplegia, usually with concomitantly occurring constrictions of the hands and arms, which is said to result from ghost contact.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation. But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also conceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice. Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork, and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on platforms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire.

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house, supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparently the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reservation for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp. In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The displeasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was inclined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

was tramped into the sand, he had another layer spread. He charged twenty-five cents a head for cattle to cross his hay-paved crossing; but much of the time the river was tame, and drovers risked the danger of quicksand to save the toll.

Then too, many did not have the necessary funds. Even twenty-five cents a head for two to three thousand head of cattle ran into quite a sum of money, in a just-after-the-war economy. Doan's store was the jumping-off place; it was the last place to buy supplies until a town in Kansas could be reached; the last place mail could be received or sent; the last place owners could meet up with their herd or issue orders to their drovers.

Later, on the same night when my narrator and his boss joined the herd, they heard Quanah and his young men go into camp a short distance down the creek. At daylight they took a quarter of beef down to Quanah's camp and invited him to eat breakfast at the cook wagon.

By the time breakfast was over it began to rain, but they cut out the seventeen head of big steers promised Quanah, and the Indians started for Quanah's camp. But he left two of his young men to accompany the drive to the Washita River. They were to tell any other Indians who might try to stop the herd that it was paid through to the Washita.

Apparently it was the first time the young Indians had had all the coffee they could drink, and they rode to the chuck wagon soon after it made each stop. Food three times a day was also something new, and evidently they enjoyed the trip. When the Washita was reached, the boss got the stores out and gave each of the young braves a pair of jeans pants and a calico shirt.

Because of continuous rain, they held the cattle for three days at the camp where they met Quanah. The grass was excellent. As my narrator expressed it, "The grama-grass was belly high to a yearling," and the herd was healthy and putting on weight. The trip on to Wyoming was uneventful, and they were able to save nearly all the calves.

A ready market was found for the cattle, and at a better price than had been expected. Some of the cowboys decided to work a while for the ranchers buying the cattle, but this drive had gone so well that my narrator decided he wanted to try his hand at bossing a drive.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche N06 ●
Winnebago N P12

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																							
	Ute	Kia	Kio	Wmc	Kit	Ute	Pai	Cha	Win	Dkt	Cro	Ioi	Dkw	Sio	Was	Ono	Ojo	Pie	Tom					
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	• –	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+					
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		–	–	–		+		+	+	+	–	+	+					
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	• –	• –	• –	+	• +	+	+	+	+	–	+	+					
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	• –	• –	+	• +	+	+	+	+	–	+	+					
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+					
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	• +	+	• +	• +	–	+	–	• +	–					
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	• –	–	–	–	–	–	–					
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		–	–	–	–	• +	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	• +	• +	+	• +	+	–	+	+					
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	–	+	–	+	• +	–	• +	–	–	–	• –	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	• +	• +	–	+	+	+	–	+	+					
222. Wash before eating			–	–	–	–		• +					–	+	+	+	–	+	+					
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		• +	• +	• +			+	+	+	+	–	+	+					
224. Before eating	+		+	–		+		• +	• +	• +			–	+	+	+	–	+	+					
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	• +	–	–			+	+	+	+	–	+	+					
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–			• –	+	+	+	–	+	+					
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–			+	+	+	+	–	+	+					
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	–	+	• +				• +			–	+	+	+	–	+	+					
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	+	–			–	+	+	+	–	+	+					
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	+	–			+	+	+	+	–	+	+					
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+																		
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+				–			+	+	+	+	–	+	+					
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+				–			+	+	+	+	–	+	+					
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+				–			+	+	+	+	–	+	+					
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	• +	+		+				–			+	+	+	+	–	+	+					
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		• –	• +	• +			–	+	+	+	–	+	+					
236. Sun greeted	+		• –	–	(–)	–																		
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	• +	–	–	(–)	+	+	+	–			+	+	+	+	–	+	+					
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		• –	• +	+	–	+							–	+	+	+	–	+	+					